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The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gileta of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

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The II Dala Lokutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyiri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirita" named II Tareto and Seare. II Dala Lokutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirita" whose names are II Mokosen, II Mejuall, II Kikemmi and II Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitekinok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalewa, Naromoro, Ol of Turosh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirita," named II Kituli and II Mejuall. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitekinok.

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In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandoroko ("II Turobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandoroko.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Racha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

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There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandoroko, called II-Kamoni, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. II-Kamoni.

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To summarise, the Masai are a lineage, conservative, divided people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the life body of warriors whose *raison d'être* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently uncoordinated to render ineffective the councils of their elders. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organisation, shrewdness and ability, but these are largely dissipated owing to their nomadism: they have always realised that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbances, being too good to work, and rich enough to despise them, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Summary.

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

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of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai. 114

Let my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment: and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which the culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai life which, relative to these external forces, can only be regarded as undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited the hygienic state of life in the homas and the high incidence of venereal disease brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America? 105
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On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours to this respect? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often now possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development: it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means "rich man" in a neighbouring dialect. (al-karia in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief; mawengi in Irangi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the lions by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the lion was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said? [261]

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Masai development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes? Over the last decade has any African tribe reported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land?

It is fair criticism of Masai pasturage that much forest has been burnt out and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

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measures, as contrasted with the devastation which agricultural misuse has caused the drainage systems in the Mbeke, Irangi and Utagira Highlands; devastation which only vast expenditure or decades of natural healing will restore.

So, with all its faults, the Masai social and economic system does at least preserve a tradition of open range animal husbandry which may prove most useful if large areas are cleared for ranching by new insecticides or in rotation or conjunction with major agricultural projects such as the Groundnut Scheme.

It has been pertinently stated that the two great evils from which Africa is suffering are Soil erosion and Soul erosion. Concerning the former the Masai must incontestably be classed amongst the lesser offenders: what is their position in relation to the latter?

If by soul erosion is meant a deterioration in adherence to existing moral standards, a falling off in observance of organized religion, a lack of purpose in life, then the Masai are amongst the least affected of peoples. Ever since their original contact with Europeans, more than half a century ago, they have as a people most courteously defined their attitude, more by deeds than words, that they are satisfied with their mode of life and intend to adhere to it. Certain adaptations and concessions they have made but only after critical examination and slow absorption, not by unreasonable aping.

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The above points provide an answer to those who maintain, either in despair or in anticipation of acquiring the vacated land, that the Masai are doomed. True, adaptations must be made; undesirable features must be weeded out; some territorial adjustments must be made; but let not the land-hungry expert to be handed well-watered, 'No-free' land — there is a sufficiency of tame-infected bush in Masailand awaiting utilization to provide all the land needed for many a decade.

Thus a critical comparative examination shows that there is too much of value in the Masai mode of life for any right-thinking person to regard with equanimity its extinction: it sets a standard of democratic representation, of social behaviour and of land usage, without which East Africa would be immeasurably the poorer.

TRIBAL TRADITIONS

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Also, while how the first Maasi, the Maasi, was found on the Maasi hills near Maasi; and as an historical person, the first Maasi may go back to about the middle of the 17th century. The Maasi tribes were at the height of their power between about 1800 and 1850. They ruled far and wide, and even Maasi and other places on the coast were not safe from them. In contact with their rule, but so great the fear they inspired, that many Maasi tribes, notably the Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Galla, Maasi, Tutsi, and others, copied their arms, ornaments, and even institutions. To the Maasi, however, must be given the credit for pioneering—unintentionally, of course—the highways from the slave trade, for no caravan got through without their permission, and the road was often closed for months on end. About 1840 the D-Wanda tribe were defeated by the D-Adiphi in Maasi—the beginning of the overthrow of this tribe which was completed some 10 years later by an alliance between the D-Adiphi and D-Kinnyu, the defeated tribes taking refuge in Maasi. The Kikuyu reached the southern limit of their expansion about 1850, their way being blocked by the Maasi of Tanganyika Territory; and about this time the Maasi and Galla came into conflict over grazing grounds, the Maasi being successful as long as they kept to the plains. In the middle of the century the Maasi were forced south by the Tutsi, and the northwest of a series called D-Adiphi having lost their cattle took to agriculture at Kinyu near Lake Rudolf. About 1880 the great rinderpest epidemic spread over much of East Africa, and the herds of the Maasi and D-Adiphi Maasi suffered terribly from it. In 1882 an outbreak of smallpox reduced the numbers of the Maasi, already weakened by intertribal war, and they became a prey to the Kikuyu; but the Europeans not come at the junction, the Maasi would have been reduced to serious straits under the combined attacks of disease and human enemies. At the death, about 1885, of Mbarika, the great Maasi of the Maasi, the central Maasi were split by the feud between his sons, Chuma (Chuma) and Sunda, over the succession. Most of the Maasi and Kikuyu supported Chuma, but Sunda was successful for a time. At the D-Adiphi joined the followers of Chuma, and Sunda was eventually defeated and forced to seek peace. Three other tribes in the Maasi district had joined Sunda, which gives some idea of the state of disunity into which the people had been thrown during their decline.

CULTURAL SUMMARY

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The Maasi and Maasi form a distinct culture group; but the Maasi, though they share certain of these features, have in much affinity with the Kikuyu culture that they stand alone in the Maasi group from the cultural point of view. Certain features of these cultures are distinctive, and can best be shown in tabular form:

		Maasi Culture (Kikuyu and Tutsi)	Maasi	Maasi and Tutsi
Maasi: long and narrow		Yes	Yes	No
Chuma		Yes	Yes	No
White and large Maasi		Yes	Yes	No
One Maasi (Maasi)		Yes	Yes	No
City group and Maasi		Yes	Yes	No
Maasi Maasi		Yes	Yes	No
Chuma (Maasi and T)		No	Yes	Yes

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Identification

The Lakeland (Lakeland) are a "Milo-Mandara" people belonging to the Southern division of the Eastern branch of the Bantu linguistic stock. They number about 27,000 (1931) on 41,000 square miles. They were greatly reduced in population and territory by disintegration and migration beginning around 1850-60. Among them are dispersed groups of Senegal Negroes, largely dependent, and various related peoples, known collectively as Foul (Foul), who for one cause or another have lost their lands and become agricultural. These include the Lomaha (Lomaha, 1-Lomaha), who live in the Upper and Lower regions, the Chaga (2-Chaga), and the Njama (Njama, 2-Njama, 2-Njama, 2-Njama, 2-Njama, 2-Njama, 2-Njama), who are settled in the Lake Chad region. The Lakeland are a mixed race living further to the north toward Lake Chad. The Lakeland of West Africa are a mixed people who are primarily agricultural.

Basic Economy

Traditionally pastoral except for groups of Foul, who have been forced by circumstances to practice agriculture (chiefly millet and sorghum). There is no fishing (fish are dried in salt), little gathering (except of honey), and a very limited amount of hunting (only buffalo and antelope, all other game, as well as bee and eggs being obtained in salt). Large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats are kept, as well as donkeys and dogs, but no chickens. The diet consists chiefly of rice, millet, and wheat (grown by a special group from the south of Lake Chad) from above the eyes of donkeys. Milk may not be boiled, and meat may be dried on the same day that meat is eaten.

Sex Division of Labor

Swimming is done by men—chiefly unaccompanied boys but also occasionally by old men. Fishing is done by women—chiefly young girls. Women also do the cooking—especially the regional food with the Chaga, Njama, and Foul.

Property

Lakeland is by far the principal form of wealth. There is no property in land, which is owned collectively by subtribes.

Other allomates share cattle among their wives, to be inherited by the sons of the latter. An allomate son, especially of the chief wife, receives a large share. If a wife has no sons, her cattle goes to the sons of other wives, but only on the same "side."

Sexual Stratification

Marriage is not practiced, and there are no formal sexual classes. Sexes become distinguished, and there is a despised and endogamous caste of orphans.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price in domestic livestock given 3 months, or at, a year, and later, and later later as normal. There are occasional elopements. A man may not marry until he graduates from the earlier age-grade-caste before the female ceremony and usually not before the Orphan ceremony.

Polygamy is general and exclusively monogamous. One wife is chief wife, but each wife has her own dwelling. A man's wives are divided into a right-hand and a left-hand "house" with separate groups into the compound. Wife-handling occurs between sons of the same age-set, but not relations are forbidden with *brother* and *Wife*. Both customs and relations between are forbidden, though a widow may cohabit with her child (children being married to the deceased wife). Only children of widows may marry. Two relations are strictly forbidden between a married man and an unmarried girl, between a married woman and either a woman or an unmarried boy, son, however, between the unmarried or between married persons not excluded by exogamous rules. The children of a woman by a married man other than her son are married to her husband.

Family

There are special laws suggested by earlier age-sets. The normal household group is a polygamous family, occupying a house.

Endogamy

Endogamy is normally practiced, one belonging to the

localised his group of their fathers, but marital residence is a not uncommon alternative; if a man joins his wife's Israel, however, he has an independent cattle group. A young man, after marrying, may live temporarily in his father's Israel, but eventually every man establishes his own independent Israel. A groom is expected to wear female garb for one month.

Ex Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is inferential.

Marriage and sex relations are forbidden with any first, second, or third cousin. Also a man may not marry a woman associated with his own age-set or the set paired with it or with a woman associated with a senior age-set.

There are exogamous, uterine patriline, divided into sub-clans. However, Illalla (former Fudweche, Macher, and Hunting-ford) claim that only sub-clans are exogamous. Exogamy extends to sex relations as well as marriage, and to the mother's as well as to the patriline.

The exogamous estate is the form of a reciprocal property privilege between male and female.

Exogamy Terminology

Te--pa-pa. Ma--pa-pa. Ch--an-Israel. So--al-ayloni.
Ge--an-cio. H--al-akade. H--an-akade. Ma--al-payan.
al-murra. Wi--e-ayayloni, an-akade.

Exogamous marriage terms for avuncular and nepotistic relatives.
Ma--al-ape. Fadi and Ma--al both equated with Ma. Gofa--
al-akade. Gofa--akade.

Exogamous marriage terms extended to FadiCh. MaCh--e-le-ayloni.
MaCh--e-le-akade. FadiCh, MaCh, MaCh (m. s.)--
an-akade-ape. FadiCh equated with MaCh.

Exogamous Pasture

A settlement is obligatory, being moved when pasturage is exhausted. It consists of a Israel or circle of huts around pens for cattle, calves, sheep, and goats. Huts are elongated and of Quaker-like shape, with flatish roofs and rounded corners. The framework is of poles bent over, tied together, interlaced with grass or brush, and smeared over with a plaster of mud and

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cow dung. Several hamlets or kraals, with 15-30 persons each, for the community, a semi-nomadic neighborhood, the hamlets being separated by 2-5 miles. Several such hamlet clusters, separated by a greater distance, form a larger territorial group. The Humba Kwafi dwellings are of tembe type.

Community Organization

Sibs are not localized as clans. Boys are circumcised at 14-16, at entrance into the junior warrior age-grade. Age-grades are of linear type, 15 years apart, and are divided into left-hand and right-hand sides. There is an overlap between junior and senior warrior age-sets. Junior warriors live in barrack kraals with their mothers, some of their sisters, and uninitiated girl lovers, of whom each youth has one with whom he sleeps (but without penetration). Men of the senior warrior age-set are permitted to marry. There are no age-sets for women.

Local Government

The community is governed by a council of elders, but the warrior age-sets have an independent organization.

State

Sub-tribes, territorial units of 200-300 persons, are the political units. Each has an autonomous age-grade organization. Political authority is exercised by the men of 25-30 years old who occupy the age-grade of junior elders. Medicine men, diviners, and rain-makers exert great influence, but lack coercive power.

Warfare

The Masai were formerly the scourge of other tribes over a wide area, raiding them for cattle. Enemy men were killed; women were spared.

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General Description

The Amala (Wanda) numbered 11, 110 is 1914. They are linguistically closely akin to the Amala, from whom they are practically indistinguishable in dress.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with maize, beans, and beans (Sorghum) which are the staples. Coffee is the chief cash crop. Animal husbandry is important. Cattle are kept, and milked.

Sex Division of Labor

Women milk cows and cultivate the land.

Property

Private property in land is recognized.

Inheritance is patrilineal, by sons sharing equally. The youngest son, however, inherits the house.

Marriage

General polygamy prevails, particularly in the non-urban form. Each wife has her own hut.

Family

Stagnant families are divided into "house" for each wife. The household unit is a small patrilineal (or matrilineal) family, consisting of the families of a father and his married youngest son.

Sex Groups and Segregation

Inheritance is patrilineal, as land to the youngest son of each "house" who continues to live with his father and cultivate the land. Other sons move away and establish independent households.

Inheritance is patrilineal.

Geographical Features

The Amala live in neighborhoods of dispersed households. The villages are of the same type.

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Community Organization.

There are no class. A new settlement is usually founded by members of an age-grade.

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Classification

The Samburu (Sukuma), Sambar, Taita) are closely related to the Mami, and like the latter speak a language of the Great Lakes or "Nilo-Hamitic" section of the Southern branch of the Eastern Sudanic linguistic stock. They number about 21,000 (1934) but were formerly much more numerous. With them are included the following tribes:

1. Ellega--a group of sedentary Mami associated to the Kilgus.
2. Ellega--a small fishing tribe (100 in 1934, 94 in 1936) on the shore of Lake Rudolf, speaking a language mutually intelligible with Samburu.
3. Leliga (Leliga, Leliga, Leliga, Leliga, Leliga)--nomadic Mami, subsequently absorbed by the Ellega and the Ellega, their customs being mixed with the Ellega elements like the Ellega.
4. Ellega (Ellega)--a group derived from the Ellega by the Leliga and absorbed among the Samburu.
5. Ellega (Ellega, Ellega, El-Galga, El-Galga)--a mixed tribe of about 1000 in 1934 and of Lake Rudolf. They include members of the Ellega (sedentary Mami) and the Ellega elements and speak a Samburu dialect, still in Mami.

Notes Summary

Ellega exclusively pastoral, keeping large herds of cattle, sheep, goats, and a few camels. With it a single herd. There are dogs but horses are lacking. There is some hunting. Agriculture is practiced only by sedentary Mami or Ellega groups, e.g., the Ellega and Ellega. A few poverty-stricken villages of Ellega on the W. tip of Lake Rudolf whose custom is fishing, with supplementary hunting of mammals, birds, and lizards, and keep only goats and dogs. Fishing and hunting are also very important among the Ellega, who have some livestock and do some primitive agriculture. The Ellega have neither cattle nor camels.

The Ellega of Lake

Among the Ellega only women do the fishing, and particularly

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fishing with nets and harpoons.

Property

Livestock are the principal possessions.

Marriage

The Samburu pay a bride-price of 3 cows to Wifs, the Elimo a bride-price in goats.

Polygyny is reported.

Family

There are polygynous family households.

Sex Groups and Gangs

Non-sexual and presumably congenious patri-clan are reported for the Lallipak, Elimo, Samburu, and Njama.

Settlement Pattern

The Samburu live in migratory bands, a camp consists of two concentric fences, the inner one enclosing the cattle herd and the huts located between the two is closely separated from each other by partitions; the huts are round and dome-shaped, and consist of poles covered with sheep or goat skins. The Elimo have concentrated villages of beehive-shaped grass huts.

Community Organization

The Lallipak Masai have age-grades. The Elimo do not. The Samburu circumcise and extract the two lower incisors like the Masai.

Local Government

Local groups, composed of a number of family households, are ruled by councils of elders.

Notes

Local groups are in turn grouped into "sections," each with a council of local group leaders. These are further grouped into two large sections with "cattle sections."

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Warfare

The Samburu maintained hostile relations with the Boran, Rendile, and Turkana. After the Rendile were almost decimated by smallpox, they entered into a protective relationship with the Samburu, who plundered them of livestock in return for military protection; the two tribes shared much of the same territory, and even sometimes occupied the same villages. The Laikipiak, like other Masi, were warlike, and drove the Samburu out of part of the their territory until they were broken by rinderpest and war with other Masi. The Njamas have a Masi type of military organization, but are subject to periodic raids from the Laikipiak, Suk, and Turkana.

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